2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

dominates because of its size, for it consists of some twenty-five families, as compared with the four families in each of the four smallest clans. It is the leader of Ku:kalu clan who settles most of the disputes in these eight villages, although each of them has its own headman. When neither he nor the family elders were able to resolve difficult disputes in the past, the headman of Ku:kalu commune in the northeastern Nilgiris was asked to adjudicate.

The eight villages contain a population of about 800 Badagas, as well as several hundred Iruḷa tribesmen. While no intermarriage occurs between the two groups, there have been stray cases of Badaga men keeping Iruḷa mistresses.

The comparable situation of a peripheral Badaga community living in the Wainad will be discussed below (see pp. 129–131).

NOTES

1. Grigg, 1880, 219. Their factual legends, devoid of supernatural elements, are in sharp contrast to the origin myths of such tribes as the Toda and the Santal; compare Rivers, 1906, 184, and Orans, 1965, 5.
2. Rivers, 1906, 36; Emeneau, 1937, 103, where the number of clans given for tōvil̤y is incorrect; see also Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 125. On the priests who make sacrifice, see Rivers, 1906, 39–42, 71–72, 276–285, 354.
3. Srinivas, 1942, 32–38; Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 477. For the taboo on killing snakes, see Breeks, 1873, 104.
4. Diagram 7 roughly illustrates the hierarchy. A stranger to this community will hear claims of much higher ranking than the speakers would dare voice to members of other Badaga clans; here we will only present the most widely agreed-upon ranking. (The existence of a hierarchy does not *ipso facto* make this a caste society).
5. Ward, 1821, lxxi; Hough, 1829, 88. Their thread, unlike that of Brahmins, has only one strand.
6. Note, for example, the wives of Huṭṭi in Diagram 5. The Badaga kinship terminology is of the Dakota type (Hockings, in press).
7. heṉṉa du:ranta koḷḷu/danava sa:renta koḷḷu.
8. Jagor, 1876, 202; Francis 1908, 130–131. 'At a funeral the Badagas in general take off their turbans, but the Wodearu keep theirs on. Every Native, not even excepting the petty hill-chiefs [headmen], must bow down before them and pay them adoration'; Metz, 1864, 48–49. During the great memorial ceremony Wodeas are honoured with a bed on which they are invited to sit; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 14.
9. There have also been a few irregular marriages of Wodea girls to men living in Mysore State and the Kollegal Hills near Ha:sanu:ru; see below, pp. 216–217.
10. Grigg, 1880, 220; Francis, 1908, 130–131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 72–73. The name *Wodea* actually means 'owner, lord, master, ruler'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 45, n. 510.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 some of the higher status phratries, in the last century often managed
582 to talk, kiss or even have coitus with men of superior phratries.
554 If a Toreya woman had no child, it is said her husband would not
837 be greatly upset to find she was having an affair with a man of higher status, for as that man was "purer" any child that he sired would also be good and pure. It is noteworthy that Wodeya men, who belonged to the highest of all phratries, did not usually have casual relationships with non-Wodeya women (cf. 3.1).

615 It is very shameful for a higher-status Gauda man to be discovered
554 having relations with a Toreya girl. This is because the Gaudas,
836 the majority group among Badagas — regardless of their age and
837 generation level, and although they have no kin ties with Toreyas —
601 call all Toreyas of whatever generation "son" or "daughter." In turn the Toreyas address all Gaudas and higher Badaga phratry members as "grandfather" or "grandmother." Such paternalism acts as a psychological restraint, one Badaga suggested. Similarly Toreya men do not have coitus with Gauda women because they are scared of getting caught at it, and also because calling a Gauda girl "grandmother" is really a deterrent, my informants say. It is noteworthy that if an illicit relationship is developing between a Gauda boy and a Toreya girl they do not address each other by these fictive kin terms but by more endearing terms, which if overheard warn others that something unusual is a foot.

615 (*d*) Less frequently higher-status youths have affairs with girls
554 belonging to another phratry, but one superior in status to the
836 Toreyas.

(*e*) There has been no identifiable class or community of Badaga
548 prostitutes, although in a very few instances women have adopted
839 this profession, usually as an escape from their unattractive husbands. In general though the sexual partners of Badaga men would be described as lovers and mistresses. Beyond the limits of the community altogether some men do also find full-time prostitutes. There is a Badagu term (*ha:tira giti*) for a sexually loose woman: although she has extra-marital relations she tries to be secretive about them. This contrasts with *su:ve*, a woman who, everyone knows, is keeping a man just for sexual satisfaction or to get some favour from him.

548 A kind of borderline case between the mistress and the prostitute
837 (does English have a word for this?) is constituted by girls of the
177 neighbouring Toda and Kota tribes, many of whom are willing to have intercourse with Badaga men, some for the novelty of the

(amongst others) either his FZD or his MBD, but there is a marked preference for a FZD and some good reasons for it.[3] One involves a feeling of status congruence. Men, it is believed, demean themselves somewhat by becoming bride-givers. This is acknowledged nowadays by the payment of dowry, a new custom among the Badagas. But a young man's spiritual guide is not the family priest in this community; instead it is always his MB, whom he calls *guru* and also accords much respect. It is thus incongruent if that particular man should give his daughter in marriage to the very boy he has counselled. Marriage with a FZD, or with the daughter of a MB other than one's *guru*, gets around this emotional problem.

Patrilocality is another preference that is usually spoken of as an unbending rule. Yet there is in point of fact a term, *aḷiya se:tu*, for the live-in son-in-law, a young man who opts to live with his wife's family after their marriage. This is considered an undignified and pitiful thing to do, but it can bring real material advantages to a man whose wife has no brothers, and is a necessary alternative to virilocal residence in such a family. The epic ballad *Ba:la Sevana* deals with a man who moves into his father-in-law's village to help with the buffaloes, leaving his own mother in her village lamenting the loss of her only son, and bemoaning her fate since "there will be nobody to set fire to her corpse." It is interesting to note that Ba:la Sevana married into the Kunda region, one that used to be so economically distressed that its children were often sold into bondage for a period of years, thereby becoming the household servants of Badagas in other parts of the Nilgiris. The live-in son-in-law was one institution that helped make up for the loss of male children in those bad years, when bondage was the only answer to the threat of starvation in that region.

2. Patriliny and Patrilocality

Today the Badagas are successful cash-crop farmers specialising in cabbages, potatoes, and tea; those of the Kunda region are the wealthiest in the District. Until the early part of this century, on the other hand, they were all mainly farmers of millet. This and several other grains, together with dairy produce, provided their subsistence. When one delves further back in their history, to the 17th and 18th centuries when they were already well established on the Nilgiri Hills but with a population of under 2,000, one finds that the Badagas were already millet farmers yet thought of themselves as primarily buffalo herdsmen. This is reflected very clearly in a number of their epic ballads dating from that time. Since each family or lineage used once to have its own herd of buffaloes, then it is legitimate for us to consider

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[3] Letters placed in single apostrophes, 'A', 'B', 'C', etc.; stand for hypothetical people and are like personal names. Letters placed in double quotation marks, e.g. "M," "F," etc., indicate classificatory rather than actual kin relationships, and should be read as "in the category of mothers," and so on. Z = sister, S = son, etc.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

become householders—in their natal villages, that is. Women are never expected to make such decisions. Hence patrilocality is a principle of survival, a fact which is reinforced by the phenomenon of repeated divorces that might take one woman in her lifetime as a bride to two or three different villages, in each of which she would be something of a novice with regard to the local ecological conditions.

For a male, membership of his father's lineage—whether maximal, major, minor, or minimal—is inalienable. There may nowadays be little or no assertion of the solidarity of an individual with his lineage during his entire lifetime, but yet the tie remains. Some lineages do however still maintain in common a herd of buffaloes.

For females the descent situation is rather less clear. A woman at marriage joins the family and hence the lineage of her husband. This connection is not inalienable, on the other hand, for divorce may easily rupture it. The term for affines *(nantan-natta)* is applied by a man's family to all of his wife's natal family and lineage; it is similarly applied to all the agnatic relatives of any potential wife. This is a commonplace in Dravidian kinship systems. Among Badaga women we also find that a wife calls her own parents and brothers *nantan*, and in anticipation of a certain married future may even use this term in reference to them while she is still a small, unmarried girl, just as her potential husbands would.

3. The Affines

The community based on patrilocal residence is a moral entity in which deference is enforced by authority. Relationships with one's agnates are always extensive and carefully maintained, and this contrasts with the narrowness of affinal relationships. The two categories are further differentiated in behaviour by the fact that a male can be fined by the village headman if he does not show the proper respect due to an agnate, and primarily to a member of his own village; but there is no fine for lack of respect to an affine.

Badagas have a saying, "There is no relationship among affines." This simply means that Ego does not always recognize generation levels among his affines. What *is* important, here as elsewhere in the kinship realm, is the age differential. Take, for example, the unexpected situation (Diagram 1) of

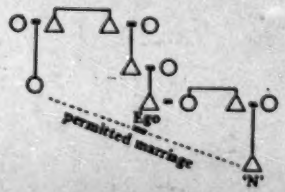

Diagram 1

0: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AM50 Badaga AM50

428 to her late husband's estate. Occasionally a son who is to inherit is considered
[622] insane or otherwise incapacitated. Under such circumstances a village head-
[623] man and council would give his share of the inheritance directly to *his* son or else to whichever person was supporting him.

595 Inheritance problems most commonly arise when an aging man has no
[428] sons. He may then marry a young woman, probably his second or third wife,
[837] in the hope that she will produce a son. (He may even encourage his younger brother to sleep with her.) Alternatively, he will adopt a son. At its simplest, this could involve bringing his brother's son or another agnatic male into the
597 household. The latter could even begin to run the household and enjoy the
[425] property before the owner's death, and if the headman and the relatives accepted this situation the property might be fully transferred to this person before the old man died. Where no male descendant exists, and none has
428 been adopted, the dead man's property is divided equally between his
[736] brothers, who are then obliged to apportion some of it for the support of his daughters and/or widow. Once she dies that portion reverts to the brothers. It may of course happen that one or two of his brothers have already died before a childless man dies. In that case the sons of those dead brothers would still inherit their portions. Several sons of one dead brother divide their father's share equally amongst themselves, but it is no larger than the share that each of their living uncles receives.

593 The brother of a dead man does not formally adopt the orphaned
736 children, but it is he who should bring them up and arrange their marriages.
428 Once the male orphans are adults they take over their father's property from
(425) their uncle who has been managing it. In this situation the village council would nonetheless award a part of the property to that uncle in recompense
(623) for his services.

When brothers are dividing up an inheritance among themselves, they
428 give a share called *tale ku:ru* ("head dividend") to their eldest brother's
425 eldest son provided that he is older than every other brother's son. In effect this person is treated by them as a younger brother rather than a nephew except that his share is smaller than that of the brothers. When his own father, the eldest of the brothers, dies, his property is divided in equal portions in the usual manner amongst all of his sons. Since his eldest son already owns the "head dividend," that is not touched. The end result is that the eldest son of an eldest brother often inherits a bit more property than his younger brothers do.

6. Kinship Vocabulary

551 It is a feature of Badaga speech that a third party is referred to by his
● 601 connection to the person addressed. Thus when a man is speaking about his own wife, he does not say "my wife," but refers to her by her relationship to the person he is addressing, even though this may involve quite complicated vocabulary. However, in the case where the man is talking to his FF

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about her, he will still not refer to his wife by her relationship through the speaker to his own FF, and so instead of calling her "your grandson's wife," Ego will describe her as "X's mother" where 'X' is Ego's own child.

The same terms are used for children by both male and female speakers, but the reference may link a speaker to a child through either of its parents. It is interesting in this context to note what happens when two brothers marry two sisters, as in Diagram 3. In this situation we find that Ego calls 'X' his BS, while Ego's wife calls 'X' her ZS. It is one small reflection of sibling solidarity.

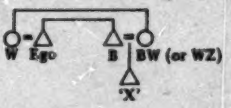

Diagram 3

The near universal distinctions of sex are mirrored in the terminology (see Table 2). Thus a term ending in *-i (mammi* for the first ascending generation collaterals) will connote a female while the same term ending in *-a (mamma* for the first ascending generation collaterals also) will be used for a male. (This suffix differentiation is general in the Dravidian languages and not reserved just for kinship terms.)

Generational division is prevalent and especially obvious for the second and third ascending and second descending generations. All grandfathers and great-grandfathers—paternal or maternal—are referred to as *ayya*, all grandmothers and great-grandmothers as *hette*. Sons, grandsons as well as all small boys tend to be called *ma:ti* or *tamma*. Granddaughters and grandsons are also referred to in descriptive terminology.

Inheritance and respect patterns within a single generation place emphasis upon who is elder (e) or younger (y) and this too is reflected in the kinship terms. An elder brother is *anna*, a younger one is *tamma*. An elder sister is *akka*, a younger one *amme*. Even in generations other than Ego's at prefix *(doḍḍa* for elder, *kunna* or *sikka* for younger) is applied to some terms to emphasize whether a relative is younger or older than the person through whom Ego is related to him or her. A few examples are these: *appa* is father, and a FeB would be called *doḍḍa appa* while FyB would be *kunna appa;* the mother is *auve*, and a MZS would be *doḍḍa auve ma:ti* or *sikka auve ma:ti* depending on the relative seniority of the MZ; *ayya* is any male of the second or third generation ascending, but a FFeB is called *doḍḍa ayya* while FFyB is *kunna ayya.*

Agnates of generations senior to Ego are addressed by him using a kin term. Those who are of generations equal or junior to Ego's are addressed by name, even when the individuals are older than Ego is. A woman, on the other hand, should never utter her husband's name, whether or not he is present. If asked for it, she may describe another person altogether, and then

TABLE 2
Badaga Kinship Terminology

Generation	Lineal agnates	Collateral agnates	Affines
third ascending	*FFF, MFF*	*ayya* FFB, MFB	WFF, WMF; MMM, FFM
second ascending	FF, MF	FM, MM, FMZ, MMZ, FFZ	*kette* WFFW, WMFW
first ascending	*appa* F; *avve* M	*appa* FB; *mammi* FZ, MBW	*mamma* or *appa* MZH; *guru* MeB; *mamma* FZH, WF, WMB, WFB; *avve* FBW, WFZ, WMZ; *mammi* WM, WMZ
Ego's generation	Ego; *aṇṇa* eB; *tamma* yB; *akka* eZ; *amme* yZ	*aṇṇa* FBeS; *tamma* FByS; *dayidaka:ro* = parallel cousins; *akka* FBeD; *amme* FByD	*gaṇda* H; *ba:va* ZH, WB, H; *ba:maida* ZH, WB, MBS; *neṇdru* W; *akka* WeZ, WFZ; *amme* WyZ; *attige* BW, WBW, FZD
first descending	*ma:ti* S; *heṇṇu* D	*aṇṇa ma:ti* eBS; *tamma ma:ti* yBS; *aṇṇa na heṇṇu* eBD; *tamma na heṇṇu* yBD	*aliya* DH, BDH; *ayye beṭṭa* DH, BDH; *akka ma:ti* eZS; *amme ya ma:ti* yZS; *sose* SW, BSW; *akka na heṇṇu* eZD; *amme ya heṇṇu* yZD
second descending	*heṇṇu na ma:ti* DS; *ma:ti na ma:ti* SS; *mammakka* = grandchildren, brothers' grandchildren, of both sexes; *ma:ti na heṇṇu* SD; *heṇṇu na heṇṇu* DD		*mammaku:su* = spouse of a grandchild
third descending	*marumakko-mammakka* = great grandchildren of either sex		—

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add, "It's the same name as his." She does not even refer to her husband by the standard kin term, *gaṇḍa*, but instead says *en mane avoka*, "my housekeeper."

The Badagas display what Murdock (1949: 223-236) has termed a Dakota-type terminology. They have the Iroquois terminology (bifurcate merging), which emphasizes Ego's lineage by: (1) equating father and his brothers (*appa*) but separating off mother's brothers (*mamma*); (2) equating mother and her sisters (*auve*) but separating off father's sisters (*mammi*). The Iroquois bifurcate-merging cousin terminology specifically separates out the cross-cousins who can be married (FZD—*mammi heṇṇu;* MBD—*mamma heṇṇu*) from the sisters (eZ—*akka;* yZ—*amme*) and parallel cousins (FBD—*akka, amme,* and MZD—*doḍḍa auve heṇṇu* [e] or *sikka auve heṇṇu* [y]) whom one cannot marry. By calling Ego's Z and FBD by the same terms, Ego's patrilineage is also emphasized. Dakota-type terminology also assumes patrilineages and patriclans which, as already stated, the Badagas possess.

It should be noted that the generational level within the agnatic group is extremely important. This importance is stressed even to the extent that if Ego's DD is married to a man related as "F" to Ego, then she has to be treated as a "M" by Ego. And if ZD marries a "F" relation to Ego then she is considered "M" to Ego even though he is *guru* to her. Females automatically assume the generation levels of the men they marry. In the example illustrated (Diagram 4), if 'A' marries 'B', which may happen if 'A' is younger than 'B', then she calls 'C' "father's wife," not "brother's daughter."

Diagram 4

The same general principle is illustrated by another possible though hypothetical situation. In Diagram 5, 'B' marries 'C' and later dies, leaving her with several sons. The widow 'C' is then encouraged to marry 'A', probably a widower himself. If she has a son 'D' by him, then 'D' is one generation senior to 'E', 'F', and 'G', although he is younger than any of them. 'E' thus has to call 'D' "father." Later at the inheritance of 'A's' property, 'D' gets one half of it, while the other half is shared by 'E', 'F', and 'G'.

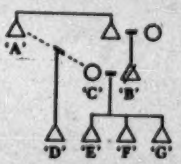

Diagram 5

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

601 Another possible situation does give some weight to female generation-level. Here (Diagram 6) 'A' has married 'B' but then produced no children, so 'B' arranges for a second wife, and marries 'C', his first wife's niece. A son 'Y' is then born to 'C', but subsequently to this 'A' also produces a son 'X'. In this situation 'Y' must always call 'X' "elder brother" although in point of fact 'X' is younger than 'Y'.

Diagram 6

Yet another instance of how relationship is determined by one's husband's generation-level is found in the following case (Diagram 7). 'B's' wife died and so he married 'C', who is classified as a "daughter" to his son-in-law 'D'. She therefore calls 'D' "father" and he calls her "daughter". 'C' also calls 'A' "mother", since she is seen by her as a "father's" wife, but at the same time 'A' calls 'C' "mother" too, because 'C' is also a father's wife for 'A'.

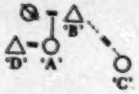

Diagram 7

7. Marriage Patterns

582 615 While there is a hierarchy among the various phratries that make up Badaga society, and while there are definite marriage rules linking particular clans (i.e., clan P tends to find most or all of its spouses in clan Q of the same phratry, and *vice versa*), this hierarchy and set of marriage preferences is not supported by a belief concerning purity and pollution of the individual. In fact, one can argue that hypergamy and hypogamy are equally acceptable to the Badagas—something that is perhaps unique for any non-tribal Indian community. Thus a girl or youth of the vegetarian Ha:ruva clan may marry a person of a non-vegetarian Gauda clan without any adverse comment; nothing worse in fact than some inconveniences at mealtimes. Instead 581 of purity/pollution considerations, it is shame or prestige that becomes important during marriage arrangements. Thus everybody wants to marry a headman's child but nobody wants to marry an orphan. A large joint family is considered a strong and respectable social unit—even if a new bride sometimes feels less than welcome in it—and people do seek marriage connections with it for their daughters.